

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 IO-13 DHA-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00

PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 EB-08 COME-00 TRSE-00 /089 W

-----031551Z 038583 /53

R 031305Z FEB 77

FM AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5682

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL DURBAN

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 0157

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PINT SF

SUBJ: BLACK ATTITUDES: A MEETING WITH STEVE BIKO

REF: A) PRETORIA 5912, B) CAPE TOWN A-5

1. TWO EMBOFFS RECENTLY VISITED KING WILLIAMS TOWN AND MET WITH BANNED BLACK ACTIVIST STEVE BIKO. BIKO IS BEST KNOWN AS FOUNDER OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION (SASO), BUT HAS ALSO WORKED WITH BLACK PEOPLES' CONVENTION AND BLACK COMMUNITY PROGRAMMES. DESPITE BANNING IN 1973, BIKO REMAINS ACTIVE AND WELL-CONNECTED. HE IS ONE OF MOST HIGHLY REGARDED FIGURES IN BLACK COMMUNITY AND ENJOYS WIDE RESPECT AMONG BOTH MILITANTS AND MODERATES. BIKO RADIATES SELF-CONFIDENCE AND APPEARS WELL PLUGGED INTO BLACK UNDERGROUND. HE PROVIDED HIS VIEWS ON FOLLOWING MAJOR TOPICS:

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2. UNITED STATES IN SOUTH AFRICA: US IS SEEN BY MANY AS "ALLY OF THE ENEMY" BECAUSE OF PAST RECORD OF INVESTMENT AND PERCEIVED INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT FOR SOUTH AFRICA. NEW ADMINISTRATION SHOULD MAKE PROMPT POLICY CHANGES OR IT WILL BE ASSUMED US SUPPORTS SAG. SPECIFIC ACTIONS COULD INCLUDE DISINVESTMENT, WITHDRAWAL OF MILITARY ATTACHES,

AND SHOWING PUBLIC CONCERN OVER BREACHING OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. US SHOULD MAKE PUBLIC INQUIRIES ABOUT DETAINED INDIVIDUALS. BLACKS DO NOT EXPECT MATERIAL SUPPORT FROM US, BUT FEEL US COULD BE A CONSTRUCTIVE FORCE IN THEIR LIBERATION.

3. HOMELANDS: BIKO EXPRESSED EXTREME DISDAIN FOR HOMELANDS AND THEIR LEADERS. GATSHA BUTHELEZI CAME IN FOR SPECIAL CRITICISM AS MOST POWERFUL AND RESPECTED OF THESE LEADERS. USING HOMELANDS AS PLATFORMS FROM WHICH TO CRITICIZE SAG WEAKENS THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT. BUTHELEZI'S FOLLOWING WAS DESCRIBED AS OLDER GENERATION, WHICH WILL BEGIN TO WANE AS TIME PASSES. INKATHA AND BLACK UNITY FRONT WERE DISMISSED AS "TRIBAL" AND "BANTUSTAN."

4. AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: ANC CONTINUES TO BE ACTIVE WITH MANY CELLS THROUGHOUT SOUTH AFRICA. IT IS LEFTIST AND "MOSCOW-ORIENTED." MEMBERSHIP IS OLDER, INCLUDING PRIMARILY PEOPLE WHO BELONGED WHILE ANC STILL LEGAL. ANC OPERATES THROUGH FRONTS. MUCH ANC WORK IS AIMED AT SPIRITING PEOPLE OUT OF COUNTRY FOR RECRUITMENT. ANC FOLLOWERS ARE FAR MORE IDEOLOGICAL AND LEFTIST THAN YOUNG RADICALS IN THE STREETS.

5. STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS: SADO IS STILL VERY IMPORTANT AND HAS GREAT INFLUENCE. SASO MEMBERSHIP IS SMALL BUT FOLLOWING IS LARGE BOTH ON CAMPUS AND IN URBAN COMMUNITIES. STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL (SRC) ALSO VERY IMPORTANT. LARGE OVERLAP IN PERSONALITIES EXISTS BETWEEN SASO/BPC/SRC. CONFIDENTIAL

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STUDENT ORGANIZATION IS GOOD ON LOCAL BASIS BUT IS WEAK ON INTER-TOWN AND NATIONAL LEVEL. ORGANIZATIONAL ABILITY IS GROWING, AND NEXT STAGE OF VIOLENCE, IN PERHAPS SIX MONTHS, WILL SHOW INCREASED COORDINATION. DETENTIONS ARE COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE FOR SAG SINCE THEY POLITICIZE AND RADICALIZE STUDENTS.

6. BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT: DESCRIBED BY BIKO AS AN AMALGAM OF BLACK ORGANIZATIONS. ITS POWER AND INFLUENCE ARE WIDESPREAD, AND COORDINATION OF ACTIONS EXISTS COUNTRY-WIDE. BIKO GAVE IMPRESSION THAT HE PLAYS SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN MOVEMENT DESPITE HIS BANNING.

7. COMPLETE REPORT FOLLOWS BY AIRGRAM (REF B).  
BOWDLER

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NNN

## Message Attributes

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